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NO. 1.

POLITICAL.

MR. HOLMES SPEECH.

CONCLUDED.

It will be well for us, so far as we can to examine the facts, and to exhibit a brief sketch of the practice of the Government in regard to removals and appointments. The history, I admit, is very imperfect, as to the causes. But, from what I shall disclose, I am inclined to believe that the public will be astonished at the result. I know full well that this detail will be entirely uninteresting to the Senate. It is always tedious and will be especially so at this late period of the session, when every one is worn out with debate. Still, it is not to the Senate exclusively to whom I address myself. At this crisis I have much higher duty to perform. I consider our Constitution and liberty in danger. I fear that the rights of this Senate have been surrendered. It is therefore, due to me, and those who may come after me, to leave behind the reasons why I was not a party to this surrender, that my name may be redeemed from the reproach which I fear will inevitably follow. It may be a matter of history, "an abstract and brief chronicle of the times," and it is possible that republicans of future days, if any there should be, might observe the rock on which we have been wrecked, shun the danger. It is important to contrast what has been done with what is now doing, and to the patriot to the causes which have produced such effects. "I shall nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." The exhibit will astonish all, as the result of that research has astonished me. I have carefully examined the Executive journals, and I believe I am correct. I have intended to give a fair and impartial narrative of facts, and if I have erred, it is the error of the head and not of the heart. The Administration of Washington commenced on the 25th of May 1789, and continued to the 3d March, 1797 eight years. During that time his removals were eleven. As this period is so remote, and there is no accurate account of the causes, it is not to be expected that I should make them. But I have upon examination, found that one (a Collector of New York) was removed, being a defaulter to the Government. From the notes which I shall subjoin, is probable that those who were in active life in those days will be able to recollect the reasons which led to the removals of the others. But it is not to be presumed that Washington ever removed upon party grounds. The duty of first organizing the Government devolved upon him, and in this he was no doubt deceived in the qualifications of some of the candidates. Yet such was his accurate knowledge of men, that after all, he was obliged to remove but eleven officers in eight years. This is a pretty good comment upon your doctrine of "rotation in office." (a)

Mr. Adams's Administration commenced on the 4th March, 1797, and during four years his removals were eleven. Four of his appointments upon removals, were annulled by his successor, Mr. Jefferson, and, I think, three of the four officers removed were restored. It was believed that Tench Coke, of Philadelphia, was removed by Mr. J. Adams from the office of Supervisor of the Revenue on party grounds, and this single act of supposed proscription produced an excitement thro' the whole country. So much so, that I am told even Virginia, who has never indulged at all in exacting a political test as a qualification for office, did in this case, refuse to re-elect her Speaker of the Assembly, a Mr. Larkin Smith, on party grounds, to show her resentment, and to retaliate for the removal of Coke. But the cause of Mr. Adams's removal of

Mr. Pickering, his Secretary of State, will be recollected by all. He differed with Mr. Adams on the policy of sending the second mission to France, persisted in his opposition to the measure; and as this pertinacity of his principle cabinet minister was to be subdued, it was the duty of the President to remove him. Mr. Adams, I believe, was never for that act, even by his enemies. The principle complaint was, that he had not removed him before.—But if there have been instances during our history of proscription, or what may now appear such, these have been few, are only an exception to the rule, and can be no justification for the present course, which we so decidedly and emphatically condemn. (b)

Mr. Jefferson's Administration commenced on the 4th March, 1801, and continued eight years. I know it has been insisted that his is a precedent on which the present Administration might safely repose. I have examined it, and it is an act of duty as well as justice, to the memory of that distinguished statesman, to redeem him from the parrellel which is here attempted. The cases are so adverse that it is less difficult to perceive where they differ, than where they agree. Indeed, there is no resemblance at all.

That was a great political revolution. The parties were divided upon principles, as they believed. Those in office were chiefly the supporters of the unsuccessful candidate. Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to the New Haven merchants, gives, as the reasons for removals, that it was right to produce something like equality. But that object accomplished, his only inquiry thereafter would be, "is he honest, is he capable, is he faithful to the Constitution?" And when an attempt was made to remove General Huntingdon, of the same State on party grounds, he refused, declaring that he should be governed by no such considerations. And he has publicly denied that he ever removed an officer because he was a federalist. Whether the facts will justify this declaration, I leave to his more intimate friends to determine.

It will be recollected, moreover, that at this time none of those officers, except Marshals I believe, held their offices by a tenure limited by law. The instances were, therefore, few, where he could expect to restore an equilibrium, except by removal. "Few die, and none resign." Besides, it was believed that many offices had been created for the purpose of being filled by an expiring administration. The judiciary act giving to this expiring administration an appointment of sixteen judges of Circuit Courts, and with the promotions from District Courts, &c. say thirty permanent officers, opposed to Mr. Jefferson and his policy, was deemed by him and his friends to be intended to throw an influence against his administration. It was believed that those Courts were unnecessary, and the belief was strengthened by subsequent experience. This was not all: "The alien and sedition laws" had been passed and executed, it was insisted, with unusual rigor. It was believed that these were, unconstitutional. They were, to say the least, unpopular and exceedingly odious. Consequently the attorneys, the judges and marshals, who prosecuted, decided and executed them, became also odious. I have heard of great complaints against prosecutors for persecutions, judges for partiality, and marshals for picking juries and vindictively executing the judgments of the Courts. Some of the cobut contentions might have been groundless; complaints regarding the madness of party, others were probably well founded. Now in this state of things, and with all these

inducements, it might be fairly presumed that more removals would be made at this than any other period of our history. Mr. Jefferson and his friends saw or thought they saw, a policy to strengthen and give weight and influence to the opposition, and to cast a millstone about the neck of his administration, which would sink it. But great complaints were made at his removals. Proscription and persecution were the cry every where, and we, most of us believed that they were cruel and vindictive. And were I now to ask any Senator here, who has not examined the journals, what was the number of removals during his eight years, few would place them at less than three hundred fewer still at two and none so low as one. I am sure they will be astonished, when I inform them, that after diligent search I have found but thirty-six! Sir, quite as much official patronage was thrown into the hands, of President Jackson, by postponing the nominations of his predecessor to the fourth of March last, as Mr. Jefferson had by removals during his eight years. As much did I say? Yes, more by far; for, upon examination, I find four of Mr. Jefferson's were of officers to fill vacancies created by his predecessor, which he himself had made; six were defaulters to the Government, and one was a removal of his own appointment. There were moreover, one district attorney and seven marshals, and these were chiefly in those districts where the complaints were that the sedition law had been prosecuted most rigorously and vindictively. The district attorney and marshal of Vermont were removed. You all recollect that a member of Congress of that State (Mr. Lyon) had been prosecuted, tried, and punished there for libel under this act. Complaints were loud and strong, that in the prosecution, trial and punishment he was treated oppressively. The charges might be groundless, but they were believed to be true; and, since I have been a member of this Senate, this same Matthew Lyon has presented a petition here, claiming redress for the injuries which he suffered. Cooper of Pennsylvania suffered by a conviction under the same law, and he has a petition now pending here for relief. Callander of Virginia was also a convict; and I believe there had been other trials and convictions in New York and Maryland. Such was the public feeling in regard to these and other proceedings, that not only the ministerial officers of the Courts, but the judges themselves, became exceedingly unpopular; so much so, that a justice of the Supreme Court was impeached by the House of Representatives, and barely escaped a conviction of the Senate. So near did he come to it, that one of the Managers of the House afterwards pronounced him "an acquitted felon." There was no doubt great exaggeration in all this; it is unnecessary now to believe or disbelieve the complaints; it is enough that such was the spirit of the times. We find that of the seven marshals removed, there were those of Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Now at this late period, we can find that of thirty-six removals there was good cause for nineteen, and we have, consequently, a right to infer that there were reasons equally good for the rest. (c)

(c) Jefferson's Administration.

"Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever State or persuasion, religious or political."—Inaugural Address, 4th March, 1801.

Mr. Jefferson detained the Senate but one day, and only until he had nominated to the vacant offices of the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Attorney General, and Minister to France, and those nomination of his predecessor, and then nominated

Joseph Whipple, of New-Hampshire, Collector at Portsmouth, vice Thomas Martin removed. Whipple had been removed by Mr. Adams and Martin appointed.

Joseph Scott, Marshal Eastern District of Virginia, vice David M. Randolph removed. Randolph was appointed by Washington in December 1795, and re-appointed by Mr. Adams in December 1799.

John Smith, Marshal Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vice John Hall removed. Hall was appointed by Mr. Adams in December 1797.

Joseph Crockett, Marshal of Kentucky, vice Samuel McDowell removed. McDowell was appointed by Washington September 1798, re-appointed in December 1799, re-appointed January 1799.

David Fay, District Attorney for Vermont, vice A. Marsh removed. Marsh was appointed by Washington June 1794, and re-appointed by Mr. Adams.

John Willard, Marshal of Vermont, vice Jabez G. Fitch removed. Fitch was appointed by Washington, and re-appointed by Mr. Adams.

Daniel Marsh, Collector, &c. at Perth Amboy New-Jersey, vice Andrew Bell removed. Bell Halsted was removed 3d March, 1800; and Bell appointed.

James Lynn, of New-Jersey, Supervisor, vice A. Durham removed. Durham was appointed by Washington 4th March, 1791.

Mount Edward Chisman, Collector at Hampton Virginia, vice Kirby removed. Kirby was appointed by Washington 21st December, 1796.

Thom de Mattos Johnson, Collector, Savannah, Georgia, vice James Pgwell removed.

Mr. Madison's administration commenced on the fourth of March, 1809, and during eight years his removals were five! Sir, it will be useless to stop to inquire into the *causes*. Five removals in eight years! it cannot be pretended that there was no party conflict during this period. Though his first election was not contested, yet his second was *fiercely* contested. It was during the last war, when all the angry passions were excited, and his rival (Mr. Clinton) received, if I do not much mistake, quite as strong a vote as Mr. Adams had at the last election.

(d)

Mr. Monroe commenced on the 4th March, 1817, and during eight years his were nine. We have now arrived at a period when *memory* will supply the defect of *records*. Of these nine two were Consuls, who failed as merchants, and therefore forfeited their consular offices. Another, *Andijo*, (a Consul,) for insanity. This was a good cause *then*. It is doubtful whether, under this administration, it would be any cause of removal, or indeed any impediment to ap-

Powell was appointed by Adams, 27th December 1797.

Isaac Smith, Collector at Cherrystone, Virginia, vice Nathaniel Wilkins removed. Wilkins was appointed by Washington 25th May 1790.

George W. Erwin of Massachusetts, Consul at London, vice Samuel Williams removed. Williams was transferred from Hamburg to London 5th Dec. 1797.

Josiah Hook, Collector at Penobscot Massachusetts, vice John Lee removed. Lee was appointed by Washington 3d August 1789.

Reuben Etting, Marshal of Maryland, vice David Hopkins removed. Hopkins was appointed by Adams 5th Dec. 1800.

John Heard, Marshal of New-Jersey, vice Thomas Lowry removed. Lowry had been twice appointed by Washington, and last by Adams on the 10th Jan. 1798.

John Swartwout, Marshal District N. York, vice Aquila Giles removed. Giles was twice appointed by Washington and once by Adams 22d Dec. 1800.

Ephraim Kirby, Conn. Supervisor, vice J. Chester removed. Chester was appointed by Washington 4th March, 1791.

Alexander Wocott, Collector at Middletown Connecticut, vice Chauncey Whittlesey removed. Whittlesey was appointed by Adams 30th November 1797, vice George Philips superseded.

Samuel Osgood, Supervisor New-York, vice Nicholas Fish removed. Fish was appointed by Washington and once by Adams 22d December 1800.

David Celston, Collector at New York, vice Joshua Sands removed. Sands was appointed by Adams 19th May 1787, vice John Lamb dismissed.

Peter Muhlenburg, Supervisor of Pennsylvania, vice Henry Miller removed. Miller was appointed by Washington 10th Dec. 1794.

Jan. 11, 1803. Joseph Farley, Collector at Waldborough Massachusetts, vice Joshua Head removed. Head was appointed by Adams 1st 1797, vice Waterman Thomas superceded.

John Gibaut, Collector at Gloucester, Massachusetts, vice William Tuck removed. Tuck was appointed by Washington 12th March 1795.

Joseph Wilson, Collector at Marblehead Massachusetts, vice Samuel R. Gerry removed. Gerry was appointed by Washington 2d August 1790.

Ralph Cross, Collector at Newburyport Massachusetts, vice Dudley A. Tyng removed. Tyng was appointed by Washington 25th June 1795, vice Edward Wigglesworth superseded.

John Shore, Collector at Petersburgh, Virginia, vice William Heth removed. Heth was appointed by Washington and Adams.

Robert A. New, Collector at Louisville, Kentucky, vice James McConnel removed. McConnel was appointed by Adams 8th December 1800.

11th January 1803. Daniel Bissell, Collector at Massac, vice William Chubs removed. Chubs was appointed by Jefferson in the recess of 1801, and nominated to the Senate 6th January 1802, and confirmed.

4th February 1803. Isaac Illsley, Jun. Collector at Portland, Massachusetts, vice Nathaniel Follett removed.

Zachariah Stevens, Surveyor and Inspector at Gloucester Massachusetts, vice Samuel Whittemore removed.

Joseph Story, Naval Office Salem and Beverly Massachusetts, vice William Pickman removed. Pickman was appointed by Washington 3d August 1789.

Jabez Penneyman, Collector &c. at Allburgh Vermont, vice David Russel removed. Russel was appointed by Washington, 25th January 1797 vice Stephen Keys superseded.

11th November 1803. John M. Goetschins of New-York Consul at Genoa vice Frederick H. Wallaston superseded. Wallaston was appointed by Adams 7th July 1797.

Jared Mansfield, Connecticut Surveyor General &c. Rufus Putnam removed. Putnam was appointed by Washington 21st January 1796.

Henry Warren, Collector &c. Plymouth Massachusetts, vice William Watson removed. Watson was appointed by Washington 3d August 1789.

Samuel Osgood, Naval Officer New York, vice Richard Rogers removed. Rogers was appointed by Washington 17th February 1787.

Jeremiah Bennett, Jun. Collector &c. at Bridgton N. J. vice Eli Elmer removed. Elmer was appointed by Washington 3d August 1789.

Nov. 11th 1803. H. B. Trist, Collector for Mississippi, vice John F. Carmichael removed. Carmichael was appointed by Adams 4th Jan. 1800.

(e) Administration of Monroe.

12th Dec. 1817. George G. Barroll, Consul at Malaga, vice William Kilpatrick removed—failure as a merchant.

Wm. Crawford, Reciver of Public Moneys, Miss. Territory vice Samuel Smith removed.

26th Jan. 1819. John Nicholson, Marshal Louisiana, vice Michael Reynolds removed.

20th Feb. 1821. John Crowell, Indian Agent Creek Nation, vice David B. Mitchell, removed for dealing in slaves.

21st Dec. 1821. Henry Janson, Jr. Consul at Christiansands, Norway, vice Peter Isaacson, removed—failure as a merchant.

3d Jan. 1823. Robert R. Hunter, N. Y. Consul at Cowes, England, vice Thomas Auldjo, removed for insanity.

23d Feb. 1824. David Walker of Penn. Consul at Glasgow, Scotland, vice Harvey Strong removed; disputes and quarrels, and the recall demanded by the British Government.

16th Dec. 1824. William McKee, Surveyor of Public Lands in Illinois and Missouri, vice Wm. Rector, removed.

26th Feb. 1825. Albert J. Clagget, of Maryland, District Attorney, West Florida, vice Wm. F. Steele, removed, for misconduct and abandoning his office.

John Quincy Adams's administration.

Two only.

It is proper to remark, that upon a critical examination, I find three more removals in Mr.

Jefferson's administration, and in all the others three less—varying the proportions, but leaving the aggregate the same, seventy-three. Though this is a trifling error, it is due to myself, and the public, that it should be corrected.

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General Jackson, moreover, had no *last*, and thus rejected, must be considered as the act of the Senate, by the advice and at the request of the President elect, to increase his patronage; and these were *thirty-eight*, making *89*! A pretty good beginning. Now it has been ascertained that the other removals up to this time, have amounted to not less than *one hundred and fifty*! making of removals by the President, and chiefly in the recess, *two hundred and thirty-nine in the first year*, more than three times the number removed by all former Presidents for forty years. But this is not all. By an official report from the Postmaster General, we learn that he had at that time removed four hundred and ninety-one of his deputies, and as he had probably not exaggerated, to say the least, and as we know "the good work" is going on, it is moderate to set these down at *five hundred*. It is within reasonable calculation to put the clerks and other dependants on those offices at *five hundred more*. Add to these the subordinate officers of the customs removed, as officially reported—*one hundred and fifty one*. Add to these deputy collectors and clerks in the customs deputy marshals, private secretaries of foreign ministers, clerks in *hund* and other offices, surveyors and others, and it is within bounds to calculate *six hundred more*—making in the first year *about two thousand*! Now why all this individual distress?—for what purpose? Let us inquire—the people want light.—If there was good cause, they will approve, but if not, they will condemn.—Why are you dumb? The reasons—we ask the reasons. Speak. You are but the servants of the people, and speak in a language which they can understand, and they will judge you impartially? Why this dark silence? It was never so before. Has your President done what he is ashamed of? come out manfully, and tell us the causes; and if they are good, the people will be satisfied. But all this seems to have been done in utter contempt of the Senate.—We were kept together from the 4th to the 18th March, an extra session, beyond all precedent. The President proceeded with a snail's pace, and very little business was done. But our backs were scarcely turned when the fires of persecution were kindled, and have since raged with relentless fury.

But the greatest outrage of all is, that the President has invaded our dominions and actually removed, in the recess too, an officer of the two houses of Congress! Sir, the President has a right to remove the Secretary of the Senate as the Librarian. This Library is "the Library of Congress"—the purchase of Mr. Jefferson's Library was for "the two Houses of Congress." The rules for governing it are to be made by the presiding officers of the "two houses." The law, to be sure, gives the power of appointment to the President; but so soon as he has exercised it, he is *functus officio* to all intents and purposes.

The President has no control over this Library any more than one of our clerks, or any stranger. We permit him to take books under our regulations, as we do the Justices of the Supreme Court and other officers. But we cannot, any more than they, dictate a single word as to its management or control. Instead of his having the power to direct this officer in the performance of a single duty, it is directly the reverse—the Librarian has a right to direct him, and to punish him for a violation of its rules. If the power of removal is, in this case, consequent upon that of appointment, the President can impose on us an officer of the two houses against the will of both. If he can remove at discretion, he can also refuse at his discretion. He might, consequently, retain a Librarian utterly offensive to us, who mismanaged our property, disobeyed our directions, and set our rules at defiance. But, Sir, this usurpation is further manifest, from the fact that he can never judge when the officer becomes disqualified. He, either by himself or any of his subordinates, has no right whatever to inspect the Library, or inquire how the duties have been performed. He can, therefore, never know when there is cause for removal. It with him would always be a hap-hazard business, quite as likely to be done wrong as right. The President did not, for he could not, remove for cause. He had, when this removal was made, been inaugurated but *three months*. Now had he devoted all this time to examining the regulations of that Library, he would not have learnt whether the Librarian had managed well or ill, even in *three years*. But, Sir, we know that Mr. Waterston was not removed because he was unfaithful or incapable. We know he was both faithful and capable, and *pre-eminent* so. Not a murmur had been whispered against him. I appeal to the Joint Committees of the Library, who have from time to time superintended it, if this is not the fact.

But, Sir, there is another reason, which should have convinced the President that he was doing wrong, if he is capable of reasoning at all. The law required that the Librarian, who was to have the custody of such valuable property, should give bonds with sufficient securities, to be approved by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House.

When this removal was made, there was no President of the Senate here, and no Speaker of the House in existence. This puts the flat negative upon the President's power to remove and fill in the recess. He could not possibly appoint this officer according to law. The whole was illegal; a responsible officer was thrust out by arbitrary power, and another man ordered to take our property into his custody, of no legal responsibility. But, Sir, if he had the power to remove and appoint at his discretion an officer of our own, we should have thought that common courtesy would have demanded that he should have consulted us. But he did not, indeed he could not: Congress was not in session—there was in fact no Congress in existence when the removal was made; for some States had not then elected their members. I then call upon gentlemen to give the reasons *why, how, and by what authority*, our Librarian has been removed!

But we were promised "reform" "retrenchment," a "correction of existing abuses," a "saving of the public money." The "Augean stable" was to be cleansed. This was the cry out of doors, and echoed even from the halls of Congress. Many, I have no doubt, repeated the expression without understanding a word of its meaning, or its application. I don't mean the Senators, for they no doubt are all *very classic*.—And I would not now repeat the story but to show that there is *no analogy*. Augeas, as you recollect, was some petty King of some petty province or city of Greece. What was its name? *Elis*—aye that is it. It seems he had a stable which had always contained *three thousand oxen*, and had never been cleaned out for *three hundred years*. Hercules undertook to cleanse it, (this was his fifth labor,) and he was to have, for his compensation, one tenth of all the cattle, three hundred—a pretty good fee, equal at least, to the salary which you are about to provide for the chief of your "Law Department." Well, Hercules, by turning the current of the river through the stable, cleansed it in one single day, and then demanded his reward. Augeas refused to pay him, alleging that he had practised an artifice.—In consequence they made war. Hercules killed him, and gave his crown to his son; and here is the whole story. Now, where is the analogy? Had Hercules swept out the cattle only, it might have resembled your case. You have removed the whole herd, and replaced them by a much more numerous and scurvy set, and made the fifth ten times worse than it was before. So much for your "Augean stable."

Now, Sir, what has been gained by all this devastation, this prostration of all principle, this concentration of all Executive power in a single Chief? Once, the people of the United States would never have made their rights and liberties a question of profit and loss. But even making it a mere matter of *calculation*, I repeat the question—*what have we gained?* Draw your comparisons between the present and last year's expenditures, and, with all the subtlety and cunning which belongs to the head of the Treasury, and what do you make? The attempt to stifle the truth has been detected, and it is manifest even to the eye of a superficial observer, that your expenditures are, and must be, necessarily more. *The fact has been proved beyond controversy.* But whether less or more, is not the question. The question is, have the expenditures, be they what they may, been prudent or prodigal, more, or just as much, as the public exigencies require? If my agent, last year, expended \$100,000, all for my benefit, I have no right to blame him; if he, this year, has expended less than half that sum, and has wasted in this expenditure one half of this, it is a lame apology to recur to a comparison of the two years. We ask you then, *what was wasted* in the last year of Mr. Adams's administration? Put your finger upon the single item. Do you retort the question? We are ready with the answer. In the removal and appointment of foreign ministers in the recess of the Senate, forty thousand dollars have been drawn from the Treasury against the law and the Constitution, without an earthly benefit, and for no other ostensible purpose, but to reward partisans, far less qualified than their predecessors.—In the collecting of the revenue, that "searching operation," what have you gained? Fifty additional officers in this single Department.

Sir, in the faithful execution of this duty, of collecting money and payment into the Treasury to meet the exigencies of the government and discharge the national debt, the people have a deep interest. This duty requires not only perfect fidelity, but long experience. The complicated machinery of the system is not to be learnt in a day—it requires years. Now if you make a general change here, even if you supply the place of those removed with the best men, it is morally certain that, from their want of experience, nothing but a miracle can save you from losses.

Concluded on the last page.

Gold is found in Tennessee as well as in Georgia; but in both States on land belonging to the Cherokees.

THE OBSERVER.

NORWAY, TUESDAY, JUNE 29.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

It has been asked, what has the present Administration done to entitle itself to the praise and support of the free citizens of the Union. The devotees of the dominant party have proudly enumerated a list of what has been done, and by putting together a few items glossed over in their account with the coloring of fiction, claiming in some particulars to the last, praising it for what is *promised* to be done though with scarcely a semblance of probability of success, and extolling it for some acts which will fix upon it a lasting reproach and disgrace, they have made out a statement which can easily be seen through as totally unworthy of entitling the administration to even an ordinary degree of commendation. We might readily enumerate a list, and no short one either, of particulars which instead of producing approval would justly and inevitably excite disapproval, and consign the ruling powers to disgrace and infamy, as the supporters of principles destructive of all liberty in a free country, hostile to the best interests of the nation, and disgraceful to the hitherto untarnished character of the United States.

It is well known by all, that the great outcry of the Jackson party during the campaign immediately preceding the last Presidential election, was that the administration of Mr. Adams was formed by bargain and corruption, that it was supported by the extravagance and prodigality of the public treasures, and a wasteful expenditure of the public monies. We were promised reform and retrenchment, virtue and integrity in official personages and economy in public expenditures. The disaffected of all parties united together in an unholy alliance, and by a combination of incongruous elements a party was created, with a desperate resolve "to put down the last administration were it as pure as the Angels in Heaven;" and by holding out to all who would join them promises of reward, and presenting every possible inducement calculated to operate upon the interests and objects of all according to their several necessities and hopes, they succeeded in their designs. Let us see what have been the results.

As one specimen of the promised reform, look at the Postoffice Department. Four HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE Post Masters are turned out of office in less than thirteen months. How beautiful a commentary upon his text "*offices created solely for the good of the public*," is the conduct of President Jackson. Political considerations are avowed by the Postoffice Department as a sufficient reason for removing Post Masters, without notice, and without even a shade of other reasons. And from all these 491 removals not one affects a Jacksonite. The doctrine of ROTATION IN OFFICE rolls out of office none but the opponents of the ruling faction. No length of time that a Jackson man has been in office requires this rotation principle to be applied to him; but if an Anti Jackson man has held an office less than six months the rotation doctrine must be and is speedily exemplified. The grand ruling principle of the present administration is, if we may judge from its actions, that Jackson's enemies must be punished, and that his friends shall be rewarded.

In illustration likewise, not only reform, but retrenchment, he has recalled our ablest foreign ministers to reward political partisans, at an expense of more than a hundred thousand dollars. He recalled Barbour, the friend of Jefferson, to reward McLane, his zealous opponent; the accomplished Middleton to make room for the extraordinary Randolph. The warrior and statesman, Harrison, must give place to Moore, whose bravest feats were exhibited in franking the United States Telegraph, that retaila of filth and falsehood, and sending it through the country.

The Postoffice Department which has always been a source of revenue, and which the virtuous, independent, and incorruptible McLean would not prostitute to party purposes, has now become deranged, and not only requires more clerks to manage its business, but an appropriation of more than 80,000 dollars is required to sustain and support it. What has become, we ask, of the boasted reform and retrenchment?

The call from the General Postofice and ten additional clerks is the evidence of an increased industry, and the demand on the Treasury for 80,000 dollars is the evidence of retrenchment and economy.

The flattering and encouraging prospects of a renewal of the Colonial trade have been held out to our hopes as speedily to be realized—but the exhilaration of hope has given place to the sober conviction, that there is no more prospect of a change in the commercial intercourse between England and this country now than there was two years ago. We have asked of Britain the "boon" of trading with her colonies, and she has refused. We have repeated our request, and she has repeated her refusal. We have solicited again and again for a reopening of the Colonial trade, till we have by our earnest solicitations given the proud, self-styled mistress of the ocean, ample reason to taunt us with the scornful and jeering language of Canning, that if she does condescend to open her West India Ports to our commerce she will grant it as a *boon*; and that we may pocket the insult with as much grace as we can. Our nation gains no credit to itself by these oft-repeated and humiliating requests for a *boon*, especially from our jealous and haughty rival. By our conduct we may induce them to believe that we view the Colonial trade essential to our National prosperity; we implicitly own our dependence upon other countries for whatever of prosperity we hope to enjoy; as though we contained not within ourselves all the resources necessary for our growth, safety and independence.

We have accidentally noticed in an extract from the Maine Inquirer, a Jackson paper published at Bath, the following paragraph, a statement which struck us as singularly adapted to mislead and convey erroneous impressions, yet so artfully worded as to avoid stating a falsehood. We shall dissect somewhat minutely the paragraph, to shew what shift the Jacksonians resort to to prop up a sinking cause. It is the following:

"Our minister to France is said to have succeeded in awakening the attention of that Government, not only to the justice of our claims, but the necessity of providing for their speedy payment. The same assurances came from Naples. The various claims will add to the wealth of our citizens, from *thirty to forty millions of dollars*; a sum which has been withheld from them for nearly 15 years, through the fears or neglect of former administrations."

Mark now, that here there is no *positive assertion* that any thing has been done in negotiation with France; it is only that something is *said* to have been accomplished; all respecting this business is from mere rumor, and for aught we have seen is wholly gratuitous; a statement made for effect. Well, what is *said* to have been *done*? Nothing, except barely that the attention of the French government is *awakened* to the subject; there are no hopes held out that any thing will be *done*, but all we have a right to expect at present is, that the King of France will consider the subject; like our profound and wise Secretary of the Navy, he will *think of it, as it is said*. Taking it for granted that if any thing ever is done and concluded upon by France, of which we can see no prospect nor a shadow of a prospect, it is very doubtful indeed if we can obtain thirty or forty millions of dollars; we should do well if we succeed in this business to even half that amount. For the first time, we read in this quotation above, the contemptible charge upon former administrations, of *fear* or *dread*. True they never blustered like a bravado or a braggadocio, that they would "submit to nothing wrong"; they did not think it necessary to belch out boastings of this sort; the character and dignity of our country abroad required no such voluntary and uncalled for declarations.—And the suggestion that our former Presidents who had abundantly tested their high moral courage, firmness and independence in the darkest period of our Nation's history, were governed by the cowardly influence of fearful apprehensions—that in the time of an increasing and flourishing state of our country they should have been *afraid* to act on all their measures with the spirit and manliness of free men—the suggestion is as mean and contemptible as it is unfounded.

NEW IMPROVEMENT.

We have examined an entirely new Invention by John Bicknell, Esq. of Buckfield. It is calculated to be applied to all kinds of machinery, and should it answer the purposes for which it is intended, will supersede in a great measure, the use of horse, water or steam power, especially the latter. We do not profess to be great judges of mechanical powers, but from a short examination of Mr. Bicknell's invention, and from the explanations he gave us, we are inclined to think it will be a very valuable acquisition to the public. As Mr. Bicknell is about securing a patent, we deem it improper to describe the invention fully—suffice it to say that it is quite simple, and we believe entirely new.

The National Republicans of the several towns in the County of Somerset, are requested to send delegates to a Convention to be held at the Court House in Norridgewock on Thursday the fifth day of August next, for the purpose of nominating candidates for State and County officers, and also a Representative to Congress from that Congressional District.

The obituary notice of Mrs. Waterman, found under our obituary head, ought to have appeared some weeks ago, but owing to its being missent to Newry Postoffice, instead of Norway it did not reach us until Friday morning last.

We have received several poetical communications which shall appear soon.

From every part of the State we have intelligence the most cheering to the friends of Gov. Hunton. In York County the refusal of the Jackson Senators to admit Mr. Usher and his colleagues into the Senate, and the removal of the excellent Marshal of Maine to make room for Albert Smith, have opened the eyes of Republicans, and it is confidently believed that Republican Senators will be elected by a handsome majority, and the apostate Rufus Motte will have leave to stay at home. In Cumberland, and especially in Portland, the scenes of last winter are not forgotten—there will be a strong Republican gain. A gentleman who recently visited Oxford County, and conversed with intelligent men of different towns, heard from all quarters the most gratifying news—much may be hoped from Oxford. From every part of Somerset we hear of the ascendancy of Republican principles—east and west the happiest changes are believed to have taken place.—Mercer especially will make herself heard at the next election, whatever efforts may be made to stifle her voice.—Penobscot will do well. Waldo has shown a Republican gain in the Congress election, and we are assured she will show a greater in September. Gentlemen from Hancock and Washington state that the Republicans of those counties will give a much larger vote for Gov. Hunton than they gave last fall.—In Lincoln the Republican cause will

OXFORD OBSERVER.

(Continued from the second page.)

Take the case at New York, where more than one third of your whole revenue is collected; all your principal and twenty-five of your subordinate officers displaced, and about the same number have been added. Here, besides the chief officers, you find fifty new ones, all without experience, to manage that vast concern, so important to the interests of the country. Will any one say, in sober earnest, that all this was for the public good? Under the arrangement and severe discipline of Mr. Thompson, every thing was done with perfect system—scarcely an error escaped—the Government was perfectly safe, and no one but he who wished for an opportunity to violate the laws had the least disposition to complain. Now, why is the whole system subverted?—Why is dangerous experiment attempted, when all was so well before? It is for no reason under heaven but to reward the minions of the present Administration.

Sir, if your party had talents, and, as a general remark, I do not think they are overburdened, is it possible that a machine so complicated as the Treasury Department can be successfully managed with raw hands? Can mere “land lubbers” navigate the ship? I put this question to experienced statesmen, to Senators; and I ask them frankly, if, in all this, they can see any thing of public good?

What has been gained, I ask, in removing one thousand connected with the Post Office Department? Mr. M'Lean was no partisan, and certainly he had done nothing to throw the influence of his Department into the hands of the late Administration. What good motive could have induced this universal proscription? Every post officer whose emoluments are worth even less than ten dollars a year, if he has not huzzaed for the Chieftain, is hunted down as a ferocious wild beast; and every hole, every corner, is searched for this small game. All this, I suppose, is “retrenchment,” and yet we learn that more officers must be provided, or this sapient chief of this new department cannot make the machine work. Now, this is not strange at all. The General Post Office is in utter confusion—every thing is in error, and “at sixes and sevens”—the assistants and clerks have been running against each other, and have got into such confusion they don’t know where to go or what to do, and very prudently conclude, therefore, *to stand still, and do nothing.*

But this is not all; *they are asking for money.* Mr. M'Lean had made the Post Office support itself; and it has hitherto produced a surplus. In one year, we find that there is likely to be a deficit of \$100,000. Now, how does this come to pass? The question is easily answered—it is removing the experienced and faithful, and placing in their stead those who cannot or will not fulfill their duties. It is reported, too, that contractors have been renumerated beyond their contracts. At any rate, we are reduced to this: we must add one hundred thousand dollars to the funds of this Department, or strike off some forty or fifty mail routes, and thus deprive the people in the scattered settlements of the means of information, *or the machine must stop.* This is another of the effects of this retrenching, reforming Administration.

Two or three examples will serve to illustrate this conduct of this Administration. Florida is a *territory* not ten years old. The President was its first Governor, and when he left the government, it is to be presumed, the officers were satisfactory. At the last election, this territory had no political influence whatever. It had no vote, nor could it command one anywhere else. Its preferences for one or the other of the candidates could therefore have no effect on the election. Yet, we find that removals here have been made with the same relentless proscription as if it had been in its power to settle the contest. *Removals*—Navy Agent and Store keeper at Pensacola; Surveyor of live oak timber and Agent for its Preservation; Postmaster at Pensacola, and Marshal; two Commanders of Revenue Cutters; Law Agent; Indian Agent; United States Attorney, Collector and Marshal, at Key West; Surveyor of Fernandina; Postmaster of St. Augustine, and Collector of Apalachicola—*sixteen!*—and four other Executive appointments made since the 4th of March last, to supply vacancies created by his own removals! Now, what other motive could have induced all this, but that of rewarding hungry expectants, who could not be provided for any where else?

I will go now into an opposite extreme of the United States—into *Maine!* When we arrived here, at the commencement of this session, every United States office, perhaps worth ten dollars, was in the hands of the friends of the Administration, except two, those of the Marshal and the Collector of Passamaquoddy. *These two have been since reformed!* I will give you but one other case. Of the thirty-seven District Attorneys, *seventeen* have been removed, and *three* were postponed by the Senate of the last Congress, to the 4th of March; that is, rejected, and others appointed in their places, making *twenty.* Of the thirty-six marshals, there have been fifteen removals, and, as I believe, several postponements; inasmuch that there are not now, perhaps, three of each of these offices held by men who were either neutral or in favor of Mr. Adams’ re-election. I will here make a single remark, which will clearly illustrate this policy: President Jackson has made more than twice the number of removals, of his own appointments in one year, than Mr. Adams did in four, of all the officers of the Government.*

In addition to these wonderful improvements, we find that some fifty or sixty editors of newspapers have, for their loyalty, been engaged to assist in this work of reform. Petty editors of country newspapers are made “Second Comptrollers” and “Fourth Auditors,” and Amos Kendall yields the trident of Neptune, and holds in his hands the destinies of that navy which has triumphed in every sea, and unfurled “the star spangled banner” in the face of every maritime nation on earth. Sir, in this aspect of our affairs, it is time to be a little serious, and to ponder well.—The press was intended to be, and once in reality was, the palladium of our liberties. It was the press of the people.—If the Government should have attempted to subsidize or usurp it, the ery would have been “hands off,” “touch not, handle not,” it is ours. Editors are our watchmen—our sentinels on the outposts of liberty. When these can be seduced or bribed, the citadel is gone. It has been asked, is an editor to be excluded from office? I answer yes, so long as he remains such, unless the people, whose servant he is, shall select him. If he would serve the Government, let him first abandon our service, but let him not desert, and acquire honors at our expense. Sir, it is my deliberate belief that there is now no way to restore the press to what it was, and what, in every free government, it always should be, but by carrying the principle out.

But be this as it may, certain it is, that rewarding the partisan editors of the successful chief, with high offices, is effectually corrupting the press. After this example, what reliance is hereafter to be placed upon newspapers?—Those rewarded, are to sustain the Government, right or wrong. Those striving for a change, must oppose it in every thing; pervert its measures, and abuse its motives. All editors, whose hopes depend upon the success of their respective candidates, will forget, in their zeal, their duty to the people, and no dependence can be placed on what they publish. Editors are but men, no purer than others; and, then, is not this the necessary result?

The specimens of reform, not yet noticed, are many, but will be passed over briefly. You proposed to raise the salaries of your district judges about fifty per cent., and this bill has passed the Senate. The House increased the compensation of the marshals for taking the census thirty-three per cent., and the Senate raised it to a hundred. You have a bill before you, reported by the Judiciary Committee, to establish “a law department,” in obedience to the recommendation of the President in his message, with a salary for the Attorney General of \$6,000, and an assistant, clerks and messengers, in the bargain. Additional officers are appointed to your revenue cutters to increase their emoluments when they are only to perform the duties which belong to the custom house officers, notwithstanding you have increased their number at least fifty.—All these things constitute “reform” and “retrenchment.” Reform on, and retrench in this way, and very soon you will reform and retrench the people out of both their money and their liberty!

On another occasion, in my defence of New England, I recurred to this proscription which I have here exposed, and remarked that this Administration had glutted its vengeance on the purest patriots on earth; that neither age, condition, sect nor sex, had escaped. For this I have received a rebuke from the Senator from Louisiana, by which it appears that this language is too plain and too strong for the delicate sensibility of this very sensitive Administration.—Our friends have been swept off by hundreds, ay, thousands; we have not been permitted to know or even to ask

* The Collector at Key West, a son of the late Mr. Pinckney, a very faithful officer was removed, and a Mr. Thurston was appointed in his place. It is ascertained that Mr. Pinckney collected the revenue there with one permanent and one occasional inspector. The new Collector, with less revenue to collect, is allowed four permanent inspectors.

The Marshal at Key West, Mr. Wilson, was removed, and a Mr. Dean appointed in his place. Money was advanced him by the Secretary of State, by what authority I don’t know. He soon proved a defaulter, is removed, and the money is lost.

Captain Harrison had a wife and seven children in this District, (Georgetown.) He was commander of a revenue cutter at Key West. When he repaired to that remote and unhealthy station, he left an order that his whole pay should be appropriated to the support of his family, and he himself to live upon his rations alone. He was removed without the slightest cause that is known or even imagined, and a Mr. Derezee was appointed in his place. Such was his confirmed habit of intemperance, that President Jackson, from regard to decency, was, in a few weeks, obliged to remove him.

for the cause, and now we are to be denied the poor consolation of *complaining.* It appears that I spoke in a tone that was not acceptable to that Senator. I regret exceedingly that the sound of my voice does not better harmonize with his refined taste. But he should recollect that our conditions are very different.—He was “brought up at the feet of Gamaliel,” received his education in the first city, and has since been improving it in the most polite and accomplished city in the Union. I am from the woods yonder, “a plain, blunt man, who speaks right on,” and, perhaps, tells you only what you yourselves already know. I have no city airs, nor city management. I have no fashionable modulation of voice. No “attitude, nor stare, nor start, theatric practised, practised at the glass.”

But, Sir, as to the substance. Is it not true that the Executive has glutted its vengeance upon the purest patriots on earth; that neither age, condition, sect nor sex, has escaped? I shall speak plain—call things by their right names. How! must I sacrifice the rights of my constituents to a fastidious delicacy?—Have I a right here to indulge in affection? No, Sir, in man or woman, but most in man, and, most of all, in man who assumes to sustain the people against their oppressors, I, from my soul, loathe all affection. It is the object of my scorn—my implacable disgust.—What! is man the only thing in God’s creation that must appear in *disguise*?—All nature else is ruled by unerring laws, penned by an unerring hand—the brutes even obey their God, and follow their destiny. Inanimate creation, those orbs which shine and sparkle around us, all concur to fulfil their great Creator’s purpose. And shall man, the creature of an hour—man, “whose breath is in his nostrils,” who, to-day is, and to-morrow slumbering in his humble tomb, and mingling with his kindred dust—shall he alone put on airs, and “play his antics tricks before high heaven?” No—no. Let him speak as he thinks, and act undisguised—all else is rank hypocrisy and deceit.

Then, let us speak out, and speak the truth. The venerable Melville was the last of “the tea party”—the last of “the cocked hats.” He was always a republican, from the destruction of the tea to the present moment, without “the shadow of turning.” He has been proscribed. To be sure he is not poor—he has by his economy and fidelity acquired a small pittance—has a little *change* in his pocket to bear his expenses on the small remnant of the road he has to pass, and from which “no traveller returns,” to pay his toll at that gate which is very soon to be forever shut after him. But Elbridge Gerry—he was a republican from the first to the last. He was one of those fearless patriots, who took their lives in their hands, and signed your Declaration of Independence. He was one of the framers of this Constitution, the basis on which we now stand. He had been successively Minister to France, Governor of Massachusetts, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate, occupying the very chair which you, Sir, fill with so much talent. He was poor and pennyless, as every honest revolutionary patriot necessarily was. He left a widow, three helpless daughters, and a son, his own “image and superscription” in every thing. The patriotic and kind-hearted Monroe gave this son an office, to which he was every way qualified, upon the express and special condition that he should appropriate the avails to the support of his widowed mother and orphan sisters.—The pledge was fulfilled to the letter.—He even denied himself the ordinary consolations of domestic life, without which nine-tenths of a man’s happiness is cut off. He was never a political partisan; but he is swept off with a relentless hand, and the venerable relict of that departed revolutionary patriot, with her helpless daughters, is cast off, in the winter of her days, upon the cold charity of a cold and uncharitable world.—Need I go farther, to prove that every age, condition, sect and sex, had become the victim of this relentless tyranny? Sir, let the Senator from Louisiana compare the expression with the facts, and answer the question himself, if every word I said is not justified? *I take nothing back—It is all true—I have proved it all.*

I again repeat the inquiry—What have you gained? The President, in his message, proposed certain important measures for the consideration of Congress. One was a modification of the Judiciary, dividing the court into two equal parts, each to hold the sessions alternately, so that a majority of one half might settle constitutional law, and a majority of the other half might, at the next session, unsettle it. It is some consolation, that no lawyer in either House has had the courage, so far, to hazard his own reputation as even to propose an inquiry into the expediency of adopting such an absurdity.

Another (the conceit probably of the arch-Secretary of State) was to dispense with the United States Bank, and to substitute another, based upon the public revenues. The officers, I presume, to be the creatures of the Executive, and the management and facilities to suit his

purpose, and conform to his will. A President, with unlimited discretion in removals and appointments, the army, navy, post office, and press, and this bank, at his control, has only to will it, and he is the tyrant. It is done, it is finished, and the liberties of the people are gone forever. Thank heaven, that scheme has got its quietus.

Another “reform” was, to establish a law department, the Attorney General its chief, with an assistant, and all the other paraphernalia. This is knocked down.

The Indians were to be removed from the limits of the States. This is uncertain. A free trade with the West Indies and other British provinces was promised; this has ended, as every rational man believed it would, in smoke. Then, what is the sum and substance of all you have done, but to remove good men from office, and put bad ones in their stead? Give us a solitary instance where there has been a single improvement in favor of the interests and liberties of the people—one principle in which your own party shall all agree, and I consent you take it for your text.

Sir, I might go on, and perhaps repeat cases to the Senate even as flagrant as these; but I have exhausted myself, and, no doubt, the patience of the Senate. I have omitted many things which I intended to say. It was my object to open the eyes of the people, that they might see their danger. This is a crisis in our affairs—it is a state of things unparalleled in our history. Look at the consequences. The distresses of the proscripted are comparatively a small matter. The public interest is put in jeopardy, by displacing experience and fidelity, and substituting mere partisans, without regard to qualifications. But if these were all, I should not despond—

The principles inculcated are most alarming—the right of the sovereign to do all this “of his own mere motion,” which is so obsequiously yielded—the unlimited, illimitable discretion so unquestionable—these are the “signs of the times” which induce the most gloomy forebodings. If this discretion were only surrendered to a discreet man, we might be safe for the present, though we should look out for the future. But, strange as it may seem, it is yielded to the last man to whom it ought to have confided. One who has always gone to the utmost bounds of the Constitution, and, in the opinion of very many, has often transgressed them. It is the time, above all others, when we should have kept a jealous eye upon the exercise of Executive power; and yet, this very period is selected to surrender every thing.

There seems a mysterious apathy, a sleepy carelessness, a lethargy, a paralysis, in the public mind. A dark and dead silence reigns in your Executive halls. Your Chief sits in sullen mysterious reserve, intrenched behind his “high responsibility,” issuing his fierce decrees, and impaling his victims with cold blooded indifference, and we dare not ask him, why? We, the Senate of the United States, are so fallen, that we cannot summon the firmness to whisper this single monosyllable in his royal ears! Is this a reality or is it a dream? If what we now witness had been presented to my mind in the fantastic visions of the night, the dream would have awaked me and I should have started from my pillow in horror.

Sir, I have done. I make no apology for detaining you thus. I have so far as my feeble talents would permit, performed a duty which I owed to myself, my country and my God.

NOTE.—It is proper to remark, that in this contrast of the removals in this and the other Administrations, I have confined myself to civil officers. When this speech was made in the Senate, it so stated, but is here accidentally omitted.

GENERAL DEPOSITES FOR PUBLISHERS—Portland, Maine.

S. COLMAN,

A GENT for Publishers of Books & Periodical Journals, throughout the Union, has made a General Deposit at Portland, Maine, from which place, quarterly and monthly journals will be sent to all parts of the State, by mail or otherwise.

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Plaid and Stripe CRAVATS; large as-

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